

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-15 SAM-01 DHA-02 AID-05 /098 W

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R 011303Z NOV 76

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7114

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

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GENEVA FOR SCHAUFEELE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, UK, RH

SUBJECT: THE OBSERVER ARTICLE

1. THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE BY DAVID MARTIN APPEARED IN THE OCTOBER 31 EDITION OF THE OBSERVER UNDER THE TITLE OF, "NO SPECIAL PROTECTION FOR WHITES, SAYS PATRIOTIC FRONT":

"TWO OF THE BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS WILL TELL THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON RHODESIA THIS WEEK THAT THEY WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS DESIGNED TO PROVIDE SPECIAL PROTECTION FOR THE COUNTRY'S 250,000 WHITES.

THIS IS ONE OF THE POINTS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (ZANU) AND THE

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ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLES UNION (ZAPU), WHOSE LEADERS

HAVE FORMED A 'PATRIOTIC FRONT' AND WHO ARE ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE AS A JOINT DELEGATION.

THEY WILL ALSO DEMAND THAT ZIMBABWE BECOMES INDEPENDENT ON 1 SEPTEMBER 1977.

THE REJECTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS WAS EXPLAINED BY ONE DELEGATE: 'MAJORITY RULE AND MINORITY PROTECTION IS A RACIST CONCEPT. WE REJECT THE QUESTION OF MINORITY PROTECTION AS DISTINGUISHED FROM THE RIGHTS OF ALL INDIVIDUALS. WE CAN ONLY GUARANTEE THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL. WE CANNOT DISTINGUISH BETWEEN BLACKS, WHITES AND ASIANS.'

THE JOINT DELEGATION EXPECTS MR. SMITH TO DEMAND SPECIAL ENTRENCHED CLAUSES IN ANY AGREEMENT AIMED AT PROTECTING WHITE OWNERSHIP OF LAND' BUSINESSES AND PROPERTY AS WELL AS JOBS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE AND ARMED FORCES. THEY ALSO SUSPECT THAT HE WILL DEMAND RESERVED PARLIAMENTARY SEATS FOR WHITES AFTER INDEPENDENCE. BLACK NATIONALIST DELEGATES STRESS THAT THEIR INTENTION IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE, AS IT WILL BE CONSTITUTIONALLY RENAMED, IS TO BUILD A NON-RACIAL RATHER THAN A MULTI-RACIAL STATE.

ZANU AND ZAPU AGREE THAT THE RIGHTS OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL SHOULD BE SAFEGUARDED IN THE CONSTITUTION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UN DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. NEITHER DELEGATION IS EXPECTED TO YIELD TO PRESSURE ON WHAT THEY REGARD AS A FUNDAMENTAL POINT. THEIR DECISION WILL ALARM MANY AMONG THE PRIVILEGED WHITE MINORITY. BUT IT IS A SYSTEM WHICH ALREADY APPLIES IN ZAMBIA, WHERE THERE ARE 25,000 BRITONS, AND IN KENYA, WHERE THERE ARE 12,000.

TWO FURTHER POINTS FLOW FROM THIS POSITION. IN THE FIRST PLACE ZANU AND ZAPU WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE PROPOSED MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR TRUST FUND, PART OF WHICH WOULD BE USED TO COMPENSATE THOSE WHITES WHO WISH TO LEAVE RHODESIA. THE COOPERATION OF A FUTURE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE REQUIRED TO ASSESS THE VALUE OF THE BUSINESSES AND PROPERTIES OF WHITES WHO DECIDE TO LEAVE OR WHOSE BUSINESSES AND PROPERTIES ARE TAKEN OVER. SUCH A RELATIONSHIP MUST BE THE DECISION OF AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT. NATIONALIST SOURCES SAY.

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IN THE SECOND PLACE, 'WE WILL NOT TALK ABOUT MAJORITY RULE IN GENEVA BUT THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE,' A DELEGATE SAID. ZANU'S LEADER, MR. ROBERT MUGABE, AND ZAPU'S LEADER, MR. JOSHUA NKOMO, BOTH MADE THIS POINT IN THEIR OPENING SPEECHES ON FRIDAY.

DELEGATES SAY THAT MAJORITY RULE DIRECTLY IMPLIES DOMINATION OF A MINORITY BY A MAJORITY AND THAT IS NOT A

CONCEPT ZANU OR ZAPU ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT IN A NON-RACIAL STATE.

MR. MUGABE, IN AN INTERVIEW SAID, 'WE SHOULD BEGIN TO THINK IN TERMS OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE AS A WHOLE. ONE DOES NOT TALK OF MAJORITY RULE IN NORMAL TERMS IN RESPECT OF BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES OR OTHER COUNTRIES. WE FEEL THAT ONCE YOU START TALKING OF MAJORITY RULE IN OUR CONTEXT, YOU ARE UNNECESSARILY RAISING THE PROBLEM OF

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THE RACIAL GROUPS.

'YOU ARE ASSUMING THAT OUR PEOPLE SHOULD BE DIVIDED INTO TWO GROUPS--BLACK AND WHITE--AND OUR CONCEPT IS THAT ALL PEOPLE ARE THE SAME. THEY DESERVE EQUAL TREATMENT AND NO ONE GROUP SHOULD HAVE ANY PRIVILEGES OR RIGHTS

SECURED FOR IT.'

BOTH MR. MUGABE AND MR. NKOMO CONCEDE THAT IF THE GENEVA TALKS LAST TWO OR THREE MONTHS, THEN THE 1 SEPTEMBER INDEPENDENCE DATE CAN BE ADJUSTED ACCORDINGLY. FOR THE MOMENT THE 'PATRIOTIC FRONT'--THE MOST SIGNIFICANT GROUP IN GENEVA BECAUSE IT CONTROLS THE GUERRILLAS--HAS BEEN CAREFUL TO BYPASS POTENTIALLY CONTENTIOUS ISSUES. THESE INCLUDE SUCH QUESTIONS AS THE ALLOCATION OF PORTFOLIOS IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, AND COMPOSITION OF

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THE ARMY AND ELECTIONS, WHICH NEITHER ZANU NOR ZAPU APPEAL TO FAVOR BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. SOURCES IN THE 'PATRIOTIC FRONT' SAY THEY ARE THINKING IN TERMS OF 25 MINISTERS AND JUNIOR MINISTERS IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF WHICH THEY WOULD CONCEDE ONLY FIVE TO MR. SMITH AND THE RHODESIAN FRONT. AS THERE WOULD NOT BE A PARLIAMENT IN THE INTERIM PHASE, ALL LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE POWERS WOULD BE VESTED IN THE MINISTERS WHO, WITH THE INEVITABLE ABOLITION OF THE 1969 CONSTITUTION, WOULD RULE BY DECREE. CABINET DECISIONS WOULD BE REACHED BY CONSENSUS OR A SIMPLE MAJORITY. MR. MUGABE AND MR. NKOMO WILL PRESENT THE ABOVE POSITION TO THE BRITISH DURING THE WEEKEND. ALTHOUGH EFFORTS TO BRING THE AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL OF BISHOP MUZOREWA INTO THE 'PATRIOTIC FRONT,' OR EVEN AGREE ON A COMMON NEGOTIATING POSITION, HAVE FAILED, THE BISHOP SPOKE ON FRIDAY OF 'UNITY IN DIVERSITY' AND ALSO INSISTED THAT THE INTERIM PERIOD SHOULD NOT EXCEED 12 MONTHS. HOWEVER, HE MAINTAINS THAT THE BLACK PRIME MINISTER OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT MUST BE ELECTED ON THE BASIS OF ONE MAN ONE VOTE. IN THE MAIN, THE BLACK NATIONALIST LEADERS PROJECTED A RELATIVELY RESTRAINED APPROACH IN THE OPENING SESSION. BUT MR. SMITH MADE IT PLAIN THAT HE WISHED TO PROCEED ONLY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE KISSINGER PACKAGE, WHICH THE NATIONALISTS HAVE REJECTED." ARMSTRONG

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